

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, GR, TU, CY

SUBJECT: ADMINISTRATION TESTIMONY ON GREECE, TURKEY AND
CYPRUS BEFORE HIRC

REF: (A) STATE 88830, (B) STATE 89227, (C) STATE 89228

1. FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM APR 6 TESTIMONY BEFORE HIRC.
EXTRACTS ARE FROM UNOFFICIAL, PRELIMINARY TRANSCRIPT, WHICH
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HAS NOT YET BEEN REVIEWED BY HIRC OR DEPARTMENT. AS TRANS-
SCRIPT WAS SUPPLIED IN CONFIDENCE AND WILL NOT BE MADE PUB-
LIC FOR SOME TIME, FOLLOWING EXTRACTS ARE FOR ADDRESSEES'
INFORMATION ONLY.

2. CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI OPENED THE QUESTION-AND-ANSWER POR-
TION OF HEARING BY NOTING THAT THIS WAS FIRST OCCASION DUR-

ING CURRENT ADMINISTRATION THAT SECRETARIES OF STATE AND DEFENSE HAD APPEARED JOINTLY BEFORE CONGRESS ON A PARTICULAR ISSUE, INDICATING THE IMPORTANCE THE ADMINISTRATION ATTACHED TO THE GREECE-TURKEY-CYPRUS ISSUE.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF EXTRACTS:

CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI: MR. SECRETARY, MY FIRST QUESTION TO YOU IS, SIR, YOU TESTIFIED BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN IN 1975 ON THIS SAME ISSUE, AND IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM OUR COLLEAGUE, CONG. BINGHAM, ABOUT WHETHER THE EMBARGO, THAT IS SECTION 620(X), AGAINST TURKEY SHOULD BE PARTIALLY LIFTED, YOU SAID THAT IT SHOULD BE BUT YOU THEN ADDED -- AND I QUOTE -- "IF THAT LIMITED STEP DOES NOT PRODUCE PROGRESS, THEN I THINK WE OUGHT TO REIMPOSE THE BAN."

AS YOU KNOW, MR. SECRETARY, PRESIDENT CARTER AND VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE MAKE SIMILAR STATEMENTS AS CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE BY CREATING A LINKAGE BETWEEN REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO AND PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. AS ONE MEMBER OF CONGRESS, I THOUGHT THAT WAS AN ERROR IN THE FIRST INSTANCE. WE SHOULD NOT HAVE LINKED PROGRESS TO CYPRUS.

OUR NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST IN KEEPING A STRONG NATO SHOULD BE OUR FIRST PRIORITY. I MUST ASK YOU NOW, WHAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HAS HAPPENED TO CAUSE YOU AND THE PRESIDENT TO CHANGE YOUR VIEWS AND NOW URGE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO?

SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD BE VERY HAPPY TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION, MR. CHAIRMAN.

AS I STATED IN 1975, I BELIEVE THAT THERE HAD BEEN A SERIOUS VIOLATION OF THE LAW AND THAT BECAUSE OF THAT, IT WAS APPROPRIATE TO ENACT AN EMBARGO TO INDICATE THE UNITED STATES WAS SERIOUS ABOUT ENFORCING ITS LAWS IN CONNECTION WITH THE SALE AND USE OF ARMS. THEREFORE, I BELIEVE IT WAS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE AND PROPER THAT THAT BE DONE.

I THINK THAT THE FACT THAT THAT WAS DONE HAS HAD AN EFFECT AND IT HAS DEMONSTRATED THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES REGARDS SUCH VIOLATIONS OF LAW.

HOWEVER, WE ARE NOW AT A PERIOD THREE YEARS LATER AND WEIGHING ALL OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH I OUTLINED AT THE TOP OF MY STATEMENT TODAY; NAMELY, THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OURSELVES

AND OUR TWO OLD FRIENDS AND ALLIES; NAMELY, GREECE AND TURKEY.

SECONDLY, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE WEAKENING SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF NATO AND, THIRDLY, BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT BY CREATING A BETTER POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE PROGRESS IN CYPRUS.

I BELIEVE THAT FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS, THE TIME HAS NOW COME TO LOOK FORWARD RATHER THAN BACK AND, THEREFORE, TO MAKE THE DECISION AT THIS TIME TO LIFT THAT EMBARGO.

ZABLOCKI: MR. SECRETARY, ARE YOU CONFIDENT, AS I AM PERSONALLY, THAT IF THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED THAT TURKEY WILL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO DEAL WITH THE CYPRUS ISSUE AND THERE WILL BE PROGRESS? ARE YOU CONFIDENT THERE WILL BE PROGRESS, IN OTHER WORDS, AFTER THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED ON THE ISSUE OF CYPRUS?

SECRETARY: WE UNDERSTAND, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT TURKISH-CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVES WILL PRESENT NEW TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ABOUT TEN DAYS. FROM SEVERAL OFFICIAL STATEMENTS MADE BY THE TURKISH AND TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERS, SUPPLEMENTED BY INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, WE HAVE SUFFICIENT GROUNDS TO BELIEVE THAT THOSE PROPOSALS WILL BE CONCRETE AND THAT THEY WILL REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE OVER WHAT WAS OFFERED AT THE TALKS IN GENEVA A YEAR AGO.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL WILL PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A WORKABLE AND VIABLE FEDERAL STRUCTURE. THE TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL WILL INCLUDE CONCRETE READJUSTMENTS AND WILL SET FORTH PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF VAROSHA WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, IS NEW FAMAGUSTA. I DO NOT KNOW ANYTHING MORE ABOUT THE DETAIL OF THE PROPOSALS, BUT I CAN STATE WHAT I STATED TO YOU.

ZABLOCKI: IN MY REMAINING MINUTE, SECRETARY BROWN, I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU IF TURKEY WERE TO PULL OUT OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND BECOME NON-ALIGNED, HOW WILL THIS HELP GREECE? WILL THE NATO DEFENSE OF GREECE BECOME MORE DIFFICULT AND WHY?

SECRETARY BROWN: IN MY VIEW, MR. CHAIRMAN, TURKISH WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ALLIANCE WOULD HAVE A VERY NEGATIVE EFFECT NOT ONLY ON THE ALLIANCE BUT PARTICULARLY ON GREECE BE- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CAUSE THE THREAT FROM THE WARSAW PACT WOULD THEN BE DIRECTED IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN MUCH MORE FULLY AT GREECE. THOSE 700,000 TURKISH SOLDIERS WHO CONSTITUTE A CONCERN TO THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BECOME LESS OF A CONCERN.

THE SOVIETS, WITH THEIR WARSAW PACT ALLIES, COULD CONCENTRATE THEIR FORCES ON GREECE. THAT IS QUITE ASIDE FROM AN EQUALLY IMPORTANT FACTOR THAT I THINK NEEDS TO BE CONSIDERED. THAT IS THAT A NON-ALIGNED TURKEY, WHICH MIGHT

VERY WELL BOTH BE GETTING ITS MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM NON-WESTERN SOURCES AND WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN NATO PLANNING ANY MORE. WHAT THAT MEANS FOR COORDINATION POTENTIALLY OF GREEK-TURKISH ACTIVITIES I THINK WOULD HAVE TO BE OF MORE CONCERN TO GREECE THAN IT IS NOW.

ZABLOCKI: THANK YOU, SECRETARY BROWN.

CONG. BROOMFIELD: FIRST OF ALL, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO COMPLIMENT SECRETARY VANCE AND SECRETARY BROWN AND GENERAL JONES FOR THEIR EXCELLENT STATEMENTS ON THIS VERY, VERY IMPORTANT SUBJECT. AND I WOULD IMAGINE THE PRESENCE OF YOUR GENTLEMEN WOULD INDICATE THE IMPORTANCE YOU ARE PLACING ON THIS PARTICULAR MATTER.

THE DIFFICULTY IS, I THINK, IT IS THE POLITICAL SITUATION INVOLVED HERE. I THINK I SOMETIMES BELIEVE IF THERE COULD BE A SECRET BALLOT ON THE FLOOR, MAYBE THINGS WOULD BE A LITTLE BIT DIFFERENT.

I ALSO BELIEVE THAT I THINK IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT CONGRESS IS SO DEEPLY INVOLVED IN SOME OF THESE IMPORTANT DECISIONS. I THINK WE DO HAVE A ROLE OF OVERSIGHT.

BROOMFIELD: I GUESS THE POINT THAT BOTHERS ME IS SIMPLY THE EMBARGO ITSELF HAS NOT BROUGHT ABOUT ANY MORE CONCLUSIONS.

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SION OF THE CYPRUS ISSUES. IN OTHER WORDS, THE SITUATION IS THE SAME AS WHEN PRESIDENT FORD WAS IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND WAS ADVOCATING THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO. I DO NOT SEE WHERE THERE HAS BEEN ANY PROGRESS. I THINK YOU ARE MORE HOPEFUL NOW THAT THERE IS A CHANCE FOR MOVEMENT, THAT THIS WOULD BE LESS OF AN OBSTACLE TO SOLVING THE CYPRUS ISSUE IF THE EMBARGO WAS LIFTED. AM I NOT CORRECT?

SECRETARY VANCE: AS I INDICATED, I THINK IF WE FOLLOW THE PROCEDURES WHICH I HAVE SUGGESTED, THAT THERE WILL BE A BETTER ATMOSPHERE AND THAT THERE IS A LIKELIHOOD THAT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE. BUT WE RECOMMEND THESE ACTIONS WITHOUT LINKING THE TWO.

BROOMFIELD: SECRETARY BROWN, I WONDER IF YOU COULD COMMENT REGARDING THE INTELLIGENCE BASES THAT WE HAVE HAD IN TURKEY AND THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE BEEN SHUT DOWN NOW FOR SOME TIME, I BELIEVE EVER SINCE THE EMBARGO WAS IMPOSED? AND IN VIEW OF THE SOVIET-CUBAN MOVEMENT NOW THROUGHOUT AFRICA AND DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD, IS THIS BECOMING AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN TRYING TO GET THIS EMBARGO LIFTED AT THIS TIME?

SECRETARY BROWN: IT HAS BEEN AND IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT, MR. BROOMFIELD, THAT WE REGAIN THE USE OF THOSE BASES AT WHICH OPERATIONS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED.

... I WOULD NOT WANT TO TIE IT SPECIFICALLY TO SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES, FOR EXAMPLE, IN AFRICA. I THINK IT IS A MORE GENERAL REQUIREMENT, BUT IT INCLUDES FINDING OUT ABOUT SUCH THINGS AND FINDING OUT ABOUT THEM HAS BEEN MADE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT WITHOUT THE USE OF THOSE BASES.

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AS TIME GOES BY, YOU MAKE THE COMPENSATIONS YOU CAN. BUT THE DEFICIENCIES BECOME MORE AND MORE IMPORTANT. I THINK THAT IS ONE REASON -- IT IS NOT THE ONLY REASON -- BUT IT IS ONE REASON WHY IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO RESTORE THE TONE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY.

BROOMFIELD: SECRETARY VANCE, I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ONE QUESTION.

... SPEAKER O'NEILL HAS INDICATED HIS OPPOSITION AT THIS TIME TO LIFTING THE EMBARGO. I JUST FOR THE LIFE OF ME, IF THIS IS AS IMPORTANT AS I SENSE IT IS BECAUSE OF YOUR APPEARANCE AND SECRETARY BROWN AND GENERAL JONES, IT SEEMS RATHER UNUSUAL THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE WOULD NOW ANNOUNCE AN OPPOSITION TO THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO.

SECRETARY VANCE: THE SPEAKER IS A VERY WISE AND HELPFUL MAN. I AM HOPEFUL AS THE DISCUSSION OF THIS TAKES PLACE AND ALL THE FACTS ARE LAID BEFORE THE CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE THAT THE SPEAKER WILL AGREE WITH THE PRESIDENT AND WITH ALL THE MEMBERS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION THAT THIS IS INDEED A MATTER OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE AND THAT AFFIRMATIVE

ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN BY THE CONGRESS ON THE PROPOSALS WHICH WE ARE LAYING BEFORE YOU.

ROSENTHAL: SECRETARY VANCE, GENERAL JONES, I THIN, HAS MADE A VERY STRONG CASE IN CONTINUING GREEK PARTICIPATION IN NATO. I KNOW YOU BELIEVE THAT, TOO. CAN YOU TELL THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE WHAT POSITION THE GREEK LEADERS HAVE TAKEN ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S RECOMMENDED REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO?

SECRETARY VANCE: THE GREEK LEADERS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD PREFER THAT THIS ACTION NOT BE TAKEN. INDEED, THEY WOULD BE OPPOSED TO THIS ACTION. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE NOT AS YET TAKEN ANY FORMAL PUBLIC POSITION WITH RESPECT TO IT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AS FAR AS I KNOW. I THINK THEY ARE CONSIDERING WHAT THEY WISH TO SAY ABOUT THIS.

ROSENTHAL: THEY TOOK A FORMAL PUBLIC POSITION IN THE ARTICLE
ROSENTHAL: THEY TOOK A FORMAL PUBLIC POSITION IN THE ARTICLE
REPORTED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OUT OF ATHENS. EVERY SINGLE
GREEK NATIONAL LEADER WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL AND MR. PAPAN-
DREOU, WHO IS IN THE OPPOSITION, SUGGESTED THAT GREEK
FORCES WITHDRAW FROM NATO AND ALL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED
STATES AND USES BY THE U.S. OF BASES IN GREECE BE TERMINATED.

SECRETARY VANCE. MR. PAPANDREOU IS A MEMBER OF THE MINORITY PARTY IN THE GOVERNMENT. HE IS NOT THE LEADER OF THE GOVERNMENT. AND I THINK WHAT WE MUST LOOK TO IS WHAT PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL ULTIMATELY SAY.

ROSENTHAL: WILL THEY BE ABLE TO WITHSTAND THE PRESSURES FROM PAPANDREOU AND CONTINUE THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. AND MAINTAIN BASES?

SECRETARY VANCE: THAT IS AN INTERNAL POLITICAL MATTER ON WHICH I SHOULD NOT COMMENT. WE HAVE GREAT FAITH AND CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS. HE WON BY A SUBSTANTIAL MARGIN IN THE ELECTION WHICH WAS HELD, AND HE HAS ESTABLISHED A VERY STRONG AND POWERFUL GOVERNMENT.

ROSENTHAL: IN OTHER WORDS, YOU DO NOT THINK THIS ACTION IS GOING TO CAUSE ANY GREAT POLITICAL STRIFE IN GREECE AND RELATIONS BETWEEN U.S. AND GREECE WILL BE RUPTURED BY THIS ACTION?

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SECRETARY VANCE: I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES WILL BE RUPTURED BY THIS ACTION. I THINK IT MAY PLACE SOME STRAINS ON THAT RELATIONSHIP.

ROSENTHAL: IF, AS YOU TESTIFIED IN YOUR DIRECT TESTIMONY, THAT TURKEY IS WITHIN 10 DAYS OF MAKING SIGNIFICANT PROPOSALS, WHY COME HERE TODAY WITHIN 10 DAYS OF THAT POSSIBILITY IF THERE IS A CHANCE THAT RELATIONS WITH GREECE WILL BE STRAINED? WHY NOT LET THE MATTER GO FORWARD CONSISTENT WITH THE EXISTING LAW, PROVING THAT THE EMBARGO WAS WORKING AND LET THE PARTIES RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCE IN CYPRUS WITHOUT CREATING NEW PROBLEMS? WE NOW CREATE AN ENORMOUS IMBALANCE IN WHICH WE MAY LOSE GREECE AND YOU MAY LOSE THE EMBARGO, RESCINDING THE EMBARGO IN CONGRESS, A DOUBLE BARRELED DEFEAT?

SECRETARY VANCE: FIRST, LET ME SAY I DO NOT AGREE WITH YOUR STATEMENT THAT WE MAY, IN YOUR WORDS, LOSE GREECE, BUT THERE ARE TWO REASONS.

THE FIRST REASON, THESE HEARINGS HAVE BEEN SCHEDULED FOR A LONG, LONG TIME. THEY HAVE BEEN PUT OFF FROM TIME TO TIME, AND WE FELT THAT THE TIME HAD NOW COME BECAUSE YOU ARE MOVING FORWARD TOWARDS MARKUP AND YOU HAVE TO HAVE ADEQUATE TIME TO CONSIDER THIS VERY, VERY IMPORTANT MATTER, THAT WE SHOULD COME AND LAY IT BEFORE YOU SO YOU CAN REALLY HAVE A CHANCE TO DIG YOUR TEETH INTO IT AND DECIDE WHAT YOU WANTED TO DO.

ROSENTHAL: WOULD IT HAVE BEEN PRUDENT TO WAIT 10 DAYS TO SEE WHAT THOSE PROPOSALS WERE?

SECRETARY VANCE: I DO NOT THINK IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PRUDENT
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TO DO THAT.

ROSENTHAL: LET ME JUST PURSUE YOUR STATEMENT OF JULY 10, 1975, IN COLLOQUY WITH MR. BINGHAM. OBVIOUSLY EVERYONE HAS A RIGHT TO CHANGE THEIR MIND AND EVERYONE HAS A RIGHT TO ASSESS EVENTS BOTH IN FUTURE AND PAST.

YOU SAID AS FOLLOWS: "WHAT I AM SAYING IS, FIRST, I BELIEVE IT WAS APPROPRIATE TO CUT OFF ALL SALES AND GRANT AID AS THE CONGRESS DID IN 1975. WHAT I AM FURTHER ASKING IS THAT I THINK AT THE PRESENT TIME WITH SOME WATER HAVING GONE OVER THE DAM THAT IT IS IN THE COUNTRY'S INTEREST AND IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD PEACE AND IN THE INTEREST OF NATO TO TAKE A LIMITED STEP, AS WE HAVE INDICATED, AND TO TEST WHETHER OR NOT UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE WILL BE MOVEMENTS TOWARDS PROGRESS ON THE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. IF THAT LIMITED STEP DOES NOT PRODUCE PROGRESS, THEN I THINK WE OUGHT TO REIMPOSE THE BAN.

"MR. BINGHAM: INDEFINITELY?

MR. VANCE: INDEFINITELY."

WHAT HAS CAUSED YOU TO CHANGE YOUR MIND?

SECRETARY VANCE: AS I INDICATED EARLIER, MR. ROSENTHAL, THREE YEARS HAVE PASSED. WE HAVE SEEN NO PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION. IN THE MEANTIME, OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH TURKEY HAVE CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE.

IN ADDITION TO THAT, THERE HAS BEEN A SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN THE READINESS, THE MATERIAL READINESS IN OUR SOUTHERN

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FLANK, AND I THINK THIS IS A MATTER OF GRAVE CONCERN NOT ONLY TO US BUT TO OUR NATO ALLIES.

FURTHER, AS I INDICATED, I BELIEVE THAT BY TAKING THIS STEP, THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE WILL BE IMPROVED AND, AS A RESULT OF THIS, I THINK THERE IS NOW AT THIS POINT IN TIME A GREATER LIKELIHOOD THAT WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS IF WE TAKE THIS STEP THAN IF WE DON'T.

ROSENTHAL: THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN TURKEY PRESUMABLY WILL BE IMPROVED. I ASSUME THAT IS WHAT YOU MEAN.

SECRETARY VANCE: THAT IS CORRECT.

ROSENTHAL: WHAT WILL BE THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN GREECE?

SECRETARY VANCE: AS I SAID TO YOU, I THINK THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE WOULD BE ONE OF STRAIN AT THE PRESENT TIME, BUT I BELIEVE IT IS ONE WHERE THEY WILL RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE STRENGTH OF NATO BECAUSE THAT IS OF INTEREST NOT ONLY TO NATO AS SUCH, BUT IS ALSO OF INTEREST TO GREECE AND TURKEY; BOTH OF THEM.

HAMILTON: MR. SECRETARY, THEPRESS HAS REPORTED THAT PREMIER ECEVIT IN RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S NEW PROPOSALS HAS SAID THEY CAN FACILITATE A CYPRUS PEACE SETTLEMENT. I KNOW YOU WANT TO GET AWAY FROM THE IDEA OF LINKAGES HERE AND I APPRECIATE THAT. BUT I WONDER IF YOU COULD REPORT TO US EXACTLY WHAT MR. ECEVIT HAS SAID WITH REGARD TO CYPRUS AND WITH REGARD TO THE BASES?

SECRETARY VANCE: SHORTLY AFTER MR. ECEVIT TOOK OFFICE HE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO DEAL PROMPTLY AND DECISIVELY WITH THE OUTSTANDING FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WHICH CONFRONTED TURKEY, WITH CYPRUS BEING GIVEN HIGH PRIORITY. HE STATED THAT A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT WOULD BE IN TURKEY'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OWN INTEREST AS WELL AS BEING ESSENTIAL TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION. HE EXPRESSED STRONG HOPE THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS WOULD SOON RESUME, AND HE GAVE ASSURANCES THE TURKISH SIDE WOULD SUBMIT CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON BOTH THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND THE TERRITORIAL ASPECTS OF THE ISSUE.

HE HAS FURTHER PATENTLY STATED THAT A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE BASED ON A BI-ZONAL, BI-COMMUNAL, INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED FEDERAL STATE.

NOW, BASED UPON THOSE PUBLIC STATEMENTS, I THINK ONE CAN

REASONABLY ASSUME THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS WILL BE ALONG THOSE LINES. AS I INDICATED EARLIER, WHAT HE HAS SAID SUPPLEMENTED BY INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES GIVES US GROUND TO BELIEVE THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL THERE WILL BE CONCRETE READJUSTMENTS, AND IT WILL SET FORTH PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF VAROSHA.

HAMILTON: THE QUESTION, MR. SECRETARY, IS WHAT HAS HE SAID TO US WITH REGARD TO THE REOPENING OF THE BASES?

SECRETARY VANCE: WE HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY THAT THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WOULD LEAD TO REOPENING OF THE INSTALLATIONS. WITH THIS AIM IN MIND, WE WILL, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, COMMENCE NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH NEW BASES FOR THE OPERATION OF THOSE FACILITIES IN TURKEY.

IN ADDITION, WE WILL ALSO EXPLORE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY THE IMMEDIATE REOPENING OF BASES UPON REPEAL OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EMBARGO ON AN INTERIM BASIS, EVEN IF NEW ARRANGEMENTS HAVE NOT YET BEEN FULLY WORKED OUT.

HAMILTON: THE NEXT QUESTION, MR. SECRETARY, IS, WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD BE THE CONSEQUENCES IF THE CONGRESS DECIDES TO MAINTAIN THE EMBARGO? LET ME ELABORATE ON THAT JUST A MOMENT. IT SEEMS TO ME YOU REA-LY HAVE TWO CONFLICTING VIEWS HERE. ONE SAYS THAT YOU KEEP THE PRESSURE ON TURKEY BY KEEPING THE EMBARGO ON AND THAT BY DOING THAT, YOU WILL BRING ABOUT AN IMPROVEMENT IN ALL OF THESE DETERIORATING RELATIONSHIPS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

THE OTHER SCHOOL OF THOUGHT IS, IF YOU TAKE THAT EMBARGO OFF, AS YOU EXPRESSED THIS MORNING, YOU RELIEVE THE TENSIONS AND PRESSURES AND YOU ARE MORE LIKELY TO GET A STRONG NATIONALISTIC GOVERNMENT LIKE TURKEY TO TAKE THE STEPS THAT ARE NECESSARY TO MOVE US TOWARDS AN IMPROVEMENT IN THOSE RELATIONSHIPS.

SUPPOSE FOR A MINUTE THAT THE FIRST VIEW PREVAILS, THAT THE CONGRESS DOES, IN FACT, KEEP THE EMBARGO ON, WHAT WILL BE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT?

SECRETARY VANCE: I THINK THE CONSEQUENCES ARE THAT, FIRST, OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH TURKEY WILL CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE.

SECONDLY, I THINK THAT THE WEAKENING STRENGTH OF THE FORCES IN THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF NATO WILL INCREASE WITH

SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES.

AND, THIRDLY, I THINK THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE WILL BECOME WORSE AND THAT THE CHANCES OF AN ULTIMATE RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WILL BE LESSENED.

HAMILTON: I WONDER IF SECRETARY BROWN WOULD COMMENT ON THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONSEQUENCES IF THE EMBARGO CONTINUES. HE SAID IN HIS STATEMENT THAT NATIONALISTIC PRESSURES WILL EDGE TURKEY TOWARD A SEARCH FOR POSSIBLE NON-NATO SOURCES TO SATISFY ITS DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS. WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT? DOES THAT MEAN THE SOVIET UNION?

SECRETARY BROWN: LET ME FIRST ASSOCIATE MYSELF WITH WHAT

SECRETARY VANCE HAS SAID/ I THINK FROM A DEFENSE POINT OF VIEW, INDEED, THE TURKS WILL CONSIDER OTHER SOURCES. IT IS A MATTER OF JUDGMENT AND, TO SOME DEGREE, GUESSWORK WHAT THEY WILL DO. AND I THINK THEY WILL, BECAUSE OF THEIR TRADITIONAL TRUST OF RUSSIA AND NOW OF THE SOVIET UNION, PROBABLY MOVE CAUTIOUSLY IN THAT DIRECTION. BUT I THINK THAT THEY WOULD TURN AWAY FROM THE UNITED STATES. I THINK THEY MIGHT SEEK FUNDING FROM OTHER PLACES TO PROCURE ARMS FIRST FROM OTHER WESTERN SOURCES AND CONCEIVABLY, QUITE POSSIBLE IN THE LONG RUN FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THEY MIGHT ALSO WITHDRAW FROM NATO. THAT IMPLIES THE DIFFICULTY IN THE FUTURE OF PLANNING A COMMON DEFENSE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. I THINK IT WOULD BE VERY UNLIKELY OR VERY DIFFICULT EVER TO REPAIR THAT KIND OF A BREACH.

HAMILTON: WHAT KIND OF CONSEQUENCES IF THE EMBARGO CONTINUES, MR. SECRETARY, WITH REGARD TO OUR INTELLIGENCE GATHERING FACILITIES. CAN YOU QUANTIFY THAT FOR US IN ANY WAY AND MAKE IT SPECIFIC? WHAT EFFECT ON THE SALT TALKS?

SECRETARY BROWN: IT IS DIFFICULT TO BE SPECIFIC IN OPEN SESSION, OF COURSE, MR. HAMILTON, AND DIFFICULT IN ANY EVENT TO QUANTIFY. BUT I CAN SAY THAT WE ARE NOW FAILING TO GET SOME INFORMATION IMPORTANT TO VERIFICATION OF SALT AGREEMENTS BECAUSE WE DO NOT HAVE THE USE OF THOSE INTELLIGENCE BASES.
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BUCHANAN: SECRETARY BROWN, I AM SURE YOU HAVE GIVEN A GOOD ANALYSIS AND THE FACT THAT IT IS A FACT THAT NATO NEEDS BOTH THESE COUNTRIES, WE NEED BOTH THESE COUNTRIES AND THEY NEED EACH OTHER. BUT I HOPE I DO NOT OFFEND ANYBODY'S TENDER SENSIBILITIES IN SAYING THIS SITUATION TO ME IS LIKE THAT WHICH GEORGE BUSH DESCRIBED WHEN HE WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE DURING THE WATERGATE

ERA. HE SAID IT WAS LIKE MAKING LOVE TO A GORILLA. YOU COULD NOT STOP UNTIL THE GORILLA WANTED TO. THAT IS WHERE WE ARE. THE TURKS FEEL THEY CAN'T MOVE UNTIL WE LIFT THE EMBARGO, AS A MATTER OF THEIR INTERNAL POLITICS. YOU AND THE PRESIDENT HAD PUT ON WHITE HATS FROM THE TURKISH POINT OF VIEW AND SAID LET'S LIFT THE EMBARGO AND PRESS FOR THE THINGS THAT ARE RIGHT UNDER THESE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES.

I THINK THE PROBLEM HERE ON THE HILL, AND I SAY THIS NOT TO INVOKE YOUR RESPONSE, BUT AS A MATTER OF FACT, IS, HOWEVER, WHILE YOU MAY HAVE PUT ON A WHITE HAT FROM THE TURKISH POINT OF VIEW, WITH GOOD REASON, THERE ARE MANY FOLKS WITH BLACK HATS STILL ON THIS HILL FROM A TURKISH POINT

OF VIEW WHO WILL SAY THERE MUST BE MOVEMENT IF WE ARE TO CHANGE.

JUST AS A MATTER OF STATING THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION, THIS IS WHERE WE ARE IN THE SITUATION WITH THE GORILLA. I UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES FROM THE TURKISH VIEW OF MOVEMENT WITH THE EMBARGO STILL ON. THERE IS GREAT DIFFICULTY HERE ON CAPITOL HILL OF CHANGE FROM THE EMBARGO UNLESS THERE CAN BE SOON SOME CONCRETE MOVEMENT WE CAN HANG OUR HATS ON. I HOPE IT WILL BE FORTHCOMING WITHIN THE NEXT 10 DAYS AND WE WILL SUFFICE TO MAKE CONGRESS FEEL IT CAN CHANGE WHAT ALMOST SURELY HAS BECOME AN UNPRODUCTIVE POLICY FROM OUR OWN NATIONAL INTEREST POINT OF VIEW AND FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF BOTH GREECE AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TURKEY. THIS IS MORE PRONOUNCEMENT THAN QUESTION, BUT I WANT OT MAKE SURE IT IS PRONOUNCED.

YOU DO RECOGNIZE THERE IS AN UPHILL FIGHT ON CAPITOL HILL AND WITH THE CONGRESS TO LIFT THE EMBARGO I TRUST?

SECRETARY VANCE: YES, SIR, I DO. I THINK THE ISSUE IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE AND THAT WE MUST EXPLAIN AS CLEARLY AS HUMANLY POSSIBLE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE AND WHY WE FEEL THIS ACTION MUST BE TAKEN AND MAKE OURSELVES AVAILABLE TO THE CONGRESS TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE SO AS TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY INFORMATION FOR WHAT WE HOPE WILL BE NOT ONLY AN INFORMED JUDGMENT BUT A CORRECT JUDGMENT.

YATRON: MR. SECRETARY, I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS. HAS TURKEY ABIDED BY ITS BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE UNITED STATES?

SECRETARY VANCE: OTHER THAN IN CONNECTION WITH THE USE OF THE ARMS IN CONNECTION WITH THE INVASIONS WHICH OCCURRED IN JULY AND IN AUGUST OF 1974, TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE

THEY HAVE.

YATRON: HAS TURKEY ABIDED BY UNITED STATES STATUTES CONCERNING THE USE OF U.S. ARMS IN AGGRESSION AGAINST ANOTHER NATION?

SECRETARY VANCE: AS I INDICATED THAT THE TIME OF THE SECOND INVASION, I BELIEVE IT WAS AUGUST 13, 1974, THAT HAS BEEN DETERMINED BY THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE A VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND, THUS, OF AMERICAN LAW.

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YATRON: WOULD THE SAME HOLD TRUE REGARDING THE UNITED NATIONS' AND NATO'S CHARTERS?

SECRETARY VANCE: I AM NOT SURE I UNDERSTAND YOUR QUESTION. ARE YOU REQUESTING WHETHER OR NOT THEY ---

YATRON: HAS TURKEY ABIDED BY THE UNITED NATIONS' AND NATO'S CHARTERS?

SECRETARY VANCE: IT IS A HARD QUESTION TO ANSWER, QUITE FRANKLY. I THINK THAT INSOFAR AS THE SECOND INVASION IS CONCERNED, AND I GO BACK TO AUGUST 1974, THERE IS A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THEY DID. I WOULD POINT OUT THAT IS THREE YEARS, FOUR YEARS IN THE PAST NOW.

YATRON: MR. SECRETARY, I WOULD RESPECTFULLY LIKE TO SAY I FEEL THE ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS ARE CLEARLY KNOWN (SIC). NOW, MR. SECRETARY, WOULDN'T IT BE CONDONING THESE ILLEGAL TURKISH ACTIONS BY LIFTING THE EMBARGO?

SECRETARY VANCE: NO, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD NOW BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN IN EFFECT FOR THE PERIOD OF TIME OF THREE YEARS AT THIS POINT, AND I THINK THAT, AS I SAY, WE HAVE MADE THE CLEAR POINT THAT WE DETERMINED THAT THE ACTIONS TAKEN IN 1974 WERE ILLEGAL, AND SO I THINK THAT POINT HAS BEEN AFFIRMATIVELY MADE.

YATRON: WHAT ASSURANCES DO WE HAVE THAT A RENEGOTIATED DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WOULD SUPPORT TURKEY'S DEFENSE OF ITS BORDER WITH THE USSR RATHER THAN DEPLOYMENT AGAINST GREECE OR IN THE OCCUPIED REGION OF CYPRUS?

SECRETARY BROWN: FROM A DEFENSE POINT OF VIEW, WE WOULD RENEGOTIATE, WE PLAN TO RENEGOTIATE THE DCA AND IT WILL CONTAIN LANGUAGE, I AM SURE, DESCRIBING THE BASIS OF COOPERATION.
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TION. ONE CAN ALWAYS ASK THE QUESTION, WILL THE SIGNATOR-

IES LIVE UP TO AGREEMENTS? I THINK WE WOULD NEGOTIATE SUCH AN AGREEMENT UNDER THE ASSUMPTION THAT THEY AND WE WOULD LIVE UP TO IT.

YATRON: MR. SECRETARY, ISN'T MR. ECEVIT IN A STRONGER POLI-

TICAL POSITION FROM WHICH TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT THAN HIS PREVIOUS PREDECESSORS?

SECRETARY VANCE: THE ANSWER IS YES.

YATRON: DOES IT NOT SEEM LOGICAL TO EXPECT LESS OF MR. ECEVIT ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE THAN WE DID OF HIS WEAKER PREDECESSOR? THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT YOU ARE CONDONING OR SUGGESTING, SIR.

SECRETARY VANCE: I DO NOT FOLLOW THAT, SIR.

YATRON: I AM SAYING IF MR. ECEVIT IS IN A STRONGER POLITICAL POSITION FROM WHICH TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT THAN HIS PREDECESSOR, YOU SAID THE ANSWER IS YES, THEN IT DOES NOT SEEM LOGICAL TO EXPECT LESS OF MR. ECEVIT ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE THAN WE DID OF HIS WEAKER PREDECESSOR.

SECRETARY VANCE: I DO NOT EXPECT LESS. I THINK HE IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO NEGOTIATE.

WINN: MR. SECRETARY, I WANT TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON CHANGING YOUR MIND FROM 1975. THERE ARE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES THAT WARRANT RECONSIDERATION OF THIS ISSUE. I JUST RETURNED FROM A WEEK'S MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND SPOKESMEN FOR ALL NINE COUNTRIES. WE SPENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ABOUT FOUR AND A HALF HOURS ON THIS SUBJECT MATTER OF TURKEY, GREECE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND THEY WERE UNANIMOUS IN THEIR DESIRE TO SEE US LIFT THE EMBARGO ON TURKEY AND TO RETAIN BOTH, OF COURSE, GREECE AND TURKEY IN NATO. YOU DID NOT, IN YOUR TESTIMONY, TOUCH ON THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY IN CASE OF THE EVENTS OF A SEVERE POLITICAL SUCCESS CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA. I WONDER IF YOU CARE TO TOUCH ON THAT.

SECRETARY VANCE: TURKEY IS AN IMPORTANT FORCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BECAUSE IT IS NOT ONLY AN ASIAN COUNTRY IN A SENSE IN THAT IT IS LOCATED IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT ALSO IT IS A EUROPEAN POWER AS WELL AND BOTH ITS LOCATION AND ITS STRENGTH ARE IMPORTANT TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE REGION. SO, I THINK UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, ONE MUST LOOK AT TURKEY AS ONE OF THE VERY IMPORTANT COUNTRIES IN THAT WHOLE PART OF THE WORLD.

SOLARZ: MR. SECRETARY, IN LIGHT OF THE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THIS DECISION WAS MADE, THE POLITICAL PRESSURES WHICH WERE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE ADMINISTRATION, I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO COMPLIMENT YOU FOR

HAVING THE COURAGE AND THE WISDOM TO COME FORWARD WITH A RECOMMENDATION THAT IT, IN MY JUDGMENT, IS UNMISTAKABLY IN THE NATIONAL INTERES. I JUST RETURNED FROM A TRIP TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. I MET TWO DAYS AGO WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AND THE OTHER LEADERS OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU IN CYPRUS, MR. DENKTASH, LEADERS OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT. I MUST TELL YOU, I THINK WE HAVE REACHED A CROSSROADS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY. IF WE REPEAT THE EMBARGO, THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE WE CAN RECREATE AND REESTABLISH A CLOSE AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WHICH WILL NOT ONLY BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY, BUT ULTIMATELY IN THE INTEREST OF GREECE AS WELL.

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IF WE DO NOT REPEAL THE EMBARGO, I AM COMPLETELY CONVINCED THAT AN IRREVERSABLE DETERIORATION WILL SET IN IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY WHICH WILL ULTIMATELY HAVE DEEPLY DISTURBING CONSEQUENCES FOR THE SECURITY OF OUR OWN COUNTRY AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. INDEED, I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY IN RETROSPECT THE POLICY OF THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN COMPLETELY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. AFTER THREE YEARS, IT IS ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT IT HAS NOT RESULTED IN ANY PROGRESS WHATSOEVER ON CYPRUS, BUT IT HAS LED TO A SIGNIFICANT DETERIORATION IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY. INDEED, I THINK IT IS PROBABLY FAIR TO SAY IN A SIGNIFICANT SENSE, THE EMBARGO ITSELF HAS BEEN AN OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS ON CYPRUS IN A DOUBLE SENSE.

ON THE ONE HAND, IT HAS MADE IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE TURKS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS BECAUSE NO GOVERNMENT LIKES TO MAKE CONCESSIONS UNDER THE THREAT OF PRESSURE FROM ANOTHER GOVERNMENT, AND AT THE SAME TIME, IT HAS MADE THE GREEKS LESS LIKELY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS GIVEN THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY FEEL THEIR SECURITY INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY A CONTINUATION OF THE EMBARGO WHICH WOULD LIKELY BE REMOVED IF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WERE RESOLVED. I THINK ON THE BASIS OF MY DISCUSSIONS OF THE AREA, IT IS VERY CLEAR THE ELIMINATION OF THE EMBARGO IS, IN FACT, A NECESSARY, IF NOT A SUFFICIENT, CONDITION FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT OVER CYPRUS.

WHILE THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT THE ELIMINATION OF THE EMBARGO WILL LEAD TO A SETTLEMENT, I THINK WE CAN BE REASONABLY CONFIDENT THAT IF IT IS NOT ELIMINATED, THE CHANCES

OF MAKING ANY REAL PROGRESS WILL BE DIM, INDEED. IN THOSE TERMS, MR. SECRETARY, YOU INDICATED THAT YOU HAD REASON TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BELIEVE THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WERE ABOUT TO SUBMIT SOME SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL. I WAS GIVEN A FAIRLY DETAILED BRIEFING ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF THOSE PROPOSALS BY MR. DENKTASH AND PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU WHETHER YOU WOULD CONSIDER THOSE PROPOSALS TO CONSTITUTE PROGRESS TOWARD A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT OVER CYPRUS IF THE SECRETARY GENERAL INDICATES UPON RECEIVING THEM THAT, IN HIS JUDGMENT, THEY CONSTITUTE A SUFFICIENT BASIS FOR THE RECONVENING OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS ON CYPRUS?

SECRETARY VANCE: YES.

SOLARZ: SO WOULD IT THEN BE FAIR TO SAY, MR. SECRETARY, TO THOSE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT THE EMBARGO SHOULD NOT BE LIFTED UNTIL THERE IS PROGRESS ON CYPRUS, THAT IF IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS ARE PUT ON THE TABLE AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL SAYS THEY CONSTITUTE AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR RECONVENING THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, THAT WE CAN TAKE THE POSITION THAT PROGRESS HAS, INDEED, BEEN MADE IF THE PROBLEM HAS NOT YET FINALLY BEEN RESOLVED?

SECRETARY VANCE: I WANT TO AGAIN STATE THAT WE ARE MAKING OUR PROPOSAL WITHOUT ANY LINKAGE. IN ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION, IF THE PROPOSALS ARE WHAT I BELIEVE THEY MAY BE, THEN I THINK THAT WOULD BE PROGRESS.

SOLARZ: MR. SECRETARY, IN TERMS OF THE USE OF THE INSTALLATIONS WHICH WE HAVE IN TURKEY, IS IT YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT ONCE THE EMBARGO IS ELIMINATED, THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS FULLY PREPARED TO LET US USE THESE BASES ONCE AGAIN AND THAT IT OUGHT TO BE POSSIBLE TO RENEGOTIATE A BASE AGREEMENT THEREBY MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF WHAT THESE INSTALLATIONS HAVE TO OFFER?

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SECRETARY VANCE: AS I INDICATED EARLIER, WE HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WILL LEAD TO THE REOPENING OF THE INSTALLATIONS, AND THE QUESTIONS ARE, WHAT ARE THE ARRANGEMENTS, AND WHAT HAS TO BE NEGOTIATED WITH THEM. INDEED, WE ARE GOING TO EXPLORE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY THE POSSIBILITY OF AN IMMEDIATE OPENING EVEN BEFORE THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN FULLY COMPLETED.

SOLARZ: I WOULD CERTAINLY HOPE THAT THAT WOULD BE POSSIBLE BECAUSE TO THE EXTENT THAT THE BASES WERE CLOSED DOWN

BECAUSE OF THE EMBARGO, ONE WOULD HOPE THAT ONCE THE EMBARGO IS ELIMINATED, THEY COULD AT LEAST BE TEMPORARILY OPENED PENDING THE RENEGOTIATION OF THE BASE AGREEMENT.

BINGHAM: I HAVE NO QUESTIONS. BUT I JUST WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A BRIEF COMMENT. SINCE THE EXCHANGE THAT YOU AND I HAD A FEW YEARS AGO, MR. SECRETARY, AND WHICH HAS BEEN REFERRED TO MY SEVERAL MEMBERS, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY I HAVE CHANGED MY MIND SINCE THEN, TOO. I THINK THAT THE POINT YOU MADE AND MAKE AGAIN TODAY, THE EMBARGO WAS IMPOSED SO WE TOOK THE MATTER EXTREMELY SERIOUSLY, THE POINT WAS MADE, THERE SIMPLY IS NO POINT IN THIS STAGE WITH CARRYING ON AS WHAT THE TURKS SEE AS PUNISHMENT. IT WILL NOT SERVE THE NATIONAL INTEREST. IT CERTAINLY WILL NOT SERVE THE INTEREST OF NATO.

SECRETARY VANCE: THANK YOU.

MR. FINDLEY. MR. SECRETARY, I HAVE BEEN VERY PLEASED AT THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION HAS PULLED OUT ALL OF THE STOPS IN ORDER TO GET THE RATIFICATION OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES. I THINK THEY ARE VITALLY IMPORTANT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, BUT I THINK EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY IS THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO ON TURKEY. AND I HOPE YOU CAN GIVE ME A SCOUT'S HONOR PLEDGE HERE THIS MORNING THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS GOING TO PULL ALL THE STOPS OUT TO GET THE NECESSARY ACTION BY CONGRESS TO LIFT THIS EMBARGO I HOPE YOU ARE DETERMINED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO GET THIS DONE.

SECRETARY VANCE. I CAN GIVE YOU THAT ASSURANCE. MR. FINDLEY. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK SECRETARY BROWN HOW HE READS IN HIS RELATIONSHIP TO THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO AND TURKEY THE PRESENCE OF 21 SOVIET DIVISIONS IN THE CAUCASUS REGION?

SECRETARY BROWN. THE OBVIOUS QUESTION THAT OCCURS IS, WHAT IS THE MILITARY PURPOSE OF SUCH A FORCE? IT IS CERTAINLY FAR MORE THAN THE SOVIETS NEED TO DEFEND THEMSELVES; ANYTHING ANYBODY ELSE WOULD ANTICIPATE AS A MILITARY THREAT TO THEM. THEY TEND TO MAKE EXCESSIVE ESTIMATES OF WHAT IS NEEDED.

NATO, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, AND TURKEY AND GREECE, I THINK, CANNOT VIEW THESE DIVISIONS AS ANYTHING BUT A

SUBSTANTIAL THREAT. THE TERRAIN THERE IS A DIFFICULT ONE. AND IN THAT SENSE, THERE IS A LIMIT TO THE THREAT THOSE 21 DIVISIONS CAN IMPOSE. BUT IT IS A SUBSTANTIAL THREAT NEVERTHELESS.

A REDUCTION OF TURKISH MILITARY READINESS AND CAPABILITY, SUCH AS FLOWED FROM THE EMBARGO, I THINK, WEAKENS NATO, OBVIOUSLY, IN THAT AREA. SHOULD TURKEY BE FURTHER ESTRANGED IN AN IRREVERSABLE WAY FROM THE U.S. AND FROM THE ALLIANCE, THEN THE SOVIET WOULD BE FREE TO, I AM NOT SAYING THEY WOULD, BUT THEY WOULD BE FREE TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES THERE AND MOVE THEM ELSEWHERE.

SOVIET PRACTICE HAS GENERALLY BEEN NOT TO DISBAN DIVISIONS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WHEN THEIR IMMEDIATELY PERCEIVED JOB IS DONE, WHICH IS WHAT HAPPENED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968 AND THEREAFTER.

MR. FINDLEY. (AFTER COLLOQUY RE POSSIBLE ISRAELI VIOLATION OF LAW IN SOUTHERN LEBANON.) I SEE. I DO NOT WANT TO BE MISUNDERSTOOD. I DO NOT FAVOR THE TERMINATION OF MILITARY

ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL NOR DID I FAVOR AT ANY POINT THE TERMINATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY. I THINK BOTH OF THEM ARE VALUED ALLIES WITH WHOM WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO COOPERATE. I THINK IT IS, HOWEVER, VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE DEAL WITH WHAT MAY APPEAR TO BE VIOLATIONS OF PUBLIC LAW BY OUR ALLIES IN AN EVEN-HANDED MANNER. BUT I THINK THIS LATEST CIRCUMSTANCES GIVES ADDED REASON FOR US TO LIFT THE EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. WOULD YOU AGREE ON THAT POINT?

SECRETARY VANCE. THE POINT I WANT TO MAKE THERE IS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO CASES. IN THE CASE ABOUT WHICH I HAVE JUST RECENTLY WRITTEN, THERE HAS BEEN A STATEMENT THAT THE ISRAELIS INTEND TO WITHDRAW AND TO TAKE ISRAELI FORCES OUT OF THAT AREA. THAT WAS NOT THE CASE IN THE 1974 SITUATION WHERE NO SUCH ASSURANCE WAS GIVEN AND, INDEED, THE FORCES WERE ALLOWED TO REMAIN THERE.

THEREFORE, I THINK THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO CASES AND THAT IS WHY I HAVE UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES SAID I DO NOT INTEND TO RECOMMEND FURTHER ACTION.

MR. WHALEN. AS I WAS ABOUT TO SAY, IN YOUR TESTIMONY (1975), I BELIEVE, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE, IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT YOU DID INDICATE PROBABLY THAT THERE WAS A VIOLATION BY TURKEY IN 1974. IS THAT UNDERSTANDING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CORRECT?

SECRETARY VANCE. THAT IS CORRECT. I READ THE OPINION OF THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL WHICH CAME TO THAT CONCLUSION, AND I CONCURRED WITH THAT OPINION.

MR. WHALEN. HAS THERE BEEN ANY CONCESSION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY THAT, INDEED, A VIOLATION DID OCCUR?

SECRETARY VANCE. NO, SIR, THEY TAKE THE POSITION THAT NO VIOLATION OCCURRED. THEY TAKE THE POSITION THAT THE ACTION WHICH THEY TOOK WAS TAKEN PURSUANT TO THE OBLIGATIONS IMPOSED UPON THEM AS A GUARANTOR UNDER THE LONDON ACCORDS AND THAT, THEREFORE, THEIR ACTION WAS WITHIN THE APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS OF THE LAW.

MR. GOODLING. MY TWO QUESTIONS ARE THESE. DO WE HAVE ANY MILITARY PRESENCE, OR WHAT IS OUR MILITARY PRESENCE IN TURKEY AT THE PRESENT TIME?

I WILL ASK SECRETARY BROWN.

SECRETARY BROWN. WE HAVE ABOUT 5,000 PEOPLE IN TURKEY.

MR. GOODLING. MILITARY PEOPLE?

SECRETARY BROWN. YES.

MR. GOODLING. PRIOR TO THE EMBARGO WE HAD HOW MANY?

SECRETARY BROWN. I DON'T REMEMBER. MAYBE GENERAL JONES DOES. IT WAS SUBSTANTIALLY MORE.

GENERAL JONES. JUST A COUPLE THOUSAND MORE IN TURKEY AT THAT TIME.

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MR. GOODLING. MY SECOND QUESTION IS, I REALIZE YOU ARE DIVORCING THE WHOLE IDEA OF ANY MOVEMENT IN CYPRUS; WITH THE PROPOSAL THAT YOU ARE PRESENTING TODAY. MY QUESTION WOULD BE, HAS THERE BEEN ANY MOVEMENT AT ALL IN RELATIONSHIP TO SOLVING THIS CYPRUS ISSUE? HAS TURKEY SHOWN ANY REDUCTION OF, FOR INSTANCE, TROOPS OR ANYTHING OF THAT NATURE? HAVE THEY DONE ANYTHING TO INDICATE---

SECRETARY VANCE. YES. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME TROOP WITHDRAWALS. IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS, THEY HAVE WITHDRAWN, I BELIEVE, IT IS APPROXIMATELY 1,200 IN TWO TRANCHES. ONE OF 700 AND ONE OF 500. THERE ARE STILL A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF TROOPS LEFT THERE.

MR. GOODLING. APPROXIMATELY HOW MANY?

SECRETARY VANCE. THIRTY THOUSAND.

MR. ROSENTHAL. MR. SECRETARY, HAS THE DEPARTMENT IN ITS POSSESSION ANY REPORT DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDING TURKEY?

SECRETARY VANCE. YES, WE DO. WE HAVE OUR OWN REPORT WHICH WE MADE TO THE CONGRESS WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN TURKEY, WHICH WE SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS.

MR. ROSENTHAL. IN BRIEF SUMMARY, IN ESSENCE THE TENOR OF THAT REPORT IS WHAT?

SECRETARY VANCE. THE TENOR OF THAT REPORT IS THAT INSOFAR AS TURKEY ITSELF IS CONCERNED WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IS SATISFACTORY. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME QUESTIONS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RAISED WITH RESPECT TO THE GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITY, NOT

IN THE RELIGIOUS AREA BUT IN THEIR ABILITY TO EXPAND AND REPAIR CHURCHES AND IN SOME OF THE OTHER CULTURAL AREAS. ON THIS, PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT HAS RECENTLY MET WITH THE PATRIARCH AND HAS SET UP A MIXED COMMISSION TO WORK ON THESE PROBLEMS AND TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND TO THE PATRIARCH. I THINK HE HAS ALSO HAD A MEETING WITH THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF A SIMILAR NATURE SO THAT THEY ARE ADDRESSING THEMSELVES TO THESE PROBLEMS.

ROSENTHAL: HAVE THERE BEEN ANY REPORTS OF INTERNATIONAL BODIES CONCERNING THIS SAME ISSUE?

SECRETARY VANCE: INSOFAR AS TURKEY IS CONCERNED, I AM NOT FAMILIAR WITH ANY. IF YOU ARE REFERRING TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THERE WAS ANY INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE SITUATION ON CYPRUS, THE ANSWER IS YES. THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY INVESTIGATED THE SITUATION AFTER THE 1974 INVASIONS. A REPORT WAS WRITTEN BY THAT COMMISSION. THAT REPORT WAS NEVER MADE PUBLIC ALTHOUGH A COPY OF SOME OF THE FINDINGS OF IT WAS

LEAKED TO A NEWSPAPER, BRITISH NEWSPAPER, AND WAS PUBLISHED IN THAT NEWSPAPER.

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE NEVER APPROVED THE REPORT AS SUCH BUT MERELY TOOK NOTE THAT A REPORT HAD BEEN MADE AND THAT THERE WERE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AT THE TIME. I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANY QUESTION BUT THAT THERE WERE SERIOUS, GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE TIME OF THE 1974 WAR, NO QUESTION ABOUT IT.

ROSENTHAL: THE LAW PRESENTLY SAYS, "NO SECURITY ASSISTANCE MAY BE PROVIDED TO ANY COUNTRY, THE GOVERNMENT OF WHICH ENGAGES IN A CONSISTENT PATTERN OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS." IS IT YOUR VIEW LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THAT IS INAPPLICABLE TO THE PRESENT SITUATION?

SECRETARY VANCE: WHAT I WOULD SAY IS, AT THE CURRENT TIME, THERE ARE NO GROSS VIOLATIONS WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN EITHER CYPRUS OR IN TURKEY AT THIS TIME.

ROSENTHAL: IN OTHER WORDS, IF THERE WERE ANY HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, THEY HAVE BEEN CURED?

SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULDN'T SAY THEY HAVE BEEN CURED. I WOULD SAY THERE ARE NOT GROSS VIOLATIONS. I WILL ASK MR. CHRISTOPHER TO SPEAK TO THIS.

CHRISTOPHER: CONGRESSMAN ROSENTHAL, THE SITUATION IN 1974

WAS CERTAINLY A PICTURE OF SERIOUS AND GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT AS WE VIEW THE SITUATION AT THE PRESENT TIME, NEITHER IN TURKEY ITSELF NOR IN CYPRUS IS THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF SUCH A CHARACTER THAT WOULD INVOKE THAT PROVISION OF THE STATUTE.

GILMAN: MR. SECRETARY, IN DISCUSSING AND TRYING TO REACH SOME ACCOMMODATION HERE AND TRYING TO FIND A FEASIBLE WAY OF KEEPING THE BEST RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY AND OUR OWN NATION, WHAT WOULD BE YOUR REACTION IF THE CONGRESS WERE TO APPROVE ONLY PART OF YOUR REQUEST, SUCH AS THE FMS AND THE SECURITY SUPPORTING FUND AS AN INCENTIVE TO COME FORTH WITH NEW PROPOSALS BY TURKEY BUT THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO WERE TO BE WITHHELD UNTIL SUCH TIME AS POSITIVE AND CONCRETE ACTION BY TURKEY WOULD BE FORTHCOMING? I WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS ON THAT.

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SECRETARY VANCE: I THINK THAT WOULD BE A MISTAKE, MR. GILMAN. I THINK THAT WOULD NOT PRODUCE THE KIND OF RESULTS THAT YOU ARE SUGGESTING. AND I THINK IN THE MEANTIME THE SITUATION WOULD CONTINUE TO WORSEN.

GILMAN: HAS THIS EMBARGO AFFECTED TURKEY'S MILITARY CAPABILITIES? WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE TURKISH MILITARY CAPABILITY TODAY AS COMPARED WITH THEIR CAPABILITIES BEFORE THE EMBARGO WAS IMPOSED? HAS THERE BEEN ANY EFFECT ON THEIR CAPABILITY AS A RESULT OF THIS EMBARGO?

SECRETARY VANCE: LET ME SAY, MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT IT HAS DETERIORATED SERIOUSLY, BUT I WILL ASK SECRETARY BROWN TO RESPOND TO THAT.

SECRETARY BROWN: THERE HAS INDEED BEEN A DETERIORATION OF TURKISH MILITARY CAPABILITY. THERE HAS BEEN A CLEAR DETERIORATION OF TURKISH MILITARY CAPABILITY AS A CONSEQUENCE OF LACK OF SPARE PARTS FOR EQUIPMENT. THAT HAS PARTICULARLY AFFECTED THEIR AIRCRAFT, WHERE THEIR READINESS RATES HAVE GONE DOWN SUBSTANTIALLY. THEY HAVE MAINTAINED THEIR PERSONNEL LEVELS, BUT THEIR TRAINING HAS DECLINED BECAUSE THE LACK OF SPARE PARTS HAS FORCED THEM TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF TRAINING HOURS THAT THEIR FORCES ARE GIVEN.

GILMAN: DID TURKEY ALLOW ITS FORCES TO OVERFLY ETHIOPIA ---

SECRETARY VANCE: THEY PROTESTED THE OVERFLIGHTS.

GILMAN: THERE WERE SOME OVERFLIGHTS?

SECRETARY VANCE: THERE WERE SOME.

WOLFF: I SHOULD LIKE TO FOLLOW ALONG MR. ROSENTHAL'S COMMENT, HOWEVER, ON THE QUESTION OF THE DIFFERENCE THAT DOES
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OCCUR BETWEEN THE EMBARGO THAT WAS SET UP ON THE TURKISH QUESTION AS DIFFERENT FROM THAT WHICH HAS BEEN ALLOWED RELATIVE TO THE RECENT LEBANESE SITUATION. AS I RECALL IT, THE CIRCUMSTANCES WERE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT IN THAT ACTUALLY THE ISRAELI INCURSION WAS NOT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON, BUT WAS AGAINST THOSE TERRITORIES WHICH WERE SEIZED BY TERRORISTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON

AS A SANCTUARY AND, THEREFORE, IS A DECIDED DIFFERENCE FROM WHAT OCCURRED IN THE QUESTION OF CYPRUS. I WONDER IF YOU WOULD COMMENT ON THAT, MR. SECRETARY?

SECRETARY VANCE: IT IS TRUE THAT THE INCURSION AND THE SOUTH LEBANON SITUATION WAS ONE DIRECTED AGAINST THE GUERRILLA FORCES LOCATED IN SOUTH LEBANON AND NOT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. AND THAT IS A DIFFERENCE FROM THE SITUATION WHICH OCCURRED IN THE 1974 INVASION. THERE THE TURKS WERE MOVING AGAINST THE ILLEGAL GREEK CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT, AS THEY TERMED IT, AND AS A RESULT OF THAT, THEREFORE, THERE CLEARLY ARE NOT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SITUATIONS.

I THINK THE BIG DIFFERENCE I WOULD LIKE TO COME BACK TO ON THIS THING IS, IN THE SITUATION INVOLVING SOUTH LEBANON, THE SITUATION IS SUCH THAT THERE IS AN ASSURANCE BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT THAT THEY INTEND TO WITHDRAW THEIR FORCES, AND THAT IS A MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SITUATION IN THE LEBANON CASE AND THE SITUATION IN THE TURKISH CASE.

SOLARZ: SECRETARY BROWN, YOU HAVE ALREADY TESTIFIED, AS SECRETARY VANCE AND GENERAL JONES, THE EMBARGO HAS LED TO A SIGNIFICANT DETERIORATION IN THE ABILITY OF TURKEY TO FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS A MEMBER OF THE NATO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ALLIANCE. I MUST SAY THAT I AM PARTICULARLY PUZZLED WHY ANYONE WHO IS CONCERNED, AS I THINK MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE, OVER THE GROWING SOVIET THREAT IN EAST EUROPE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH WE HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED OUR OWN DEFENSE BUDGET IN THE LAST FEW YEARS WOULD WANT TO CONTINUE PURSUING A POLICY WHICH IS WORKING AT CROSS-PURPOSES WITH OUR EFFORTS TO ENHANCE OUR OWN DEFENSE CAPACITY.

I WONDER, THEREFORE, IF YOU COULD POSSIBLY GIVE US SOME ESTIMATE OF WHAT IT WOULD COST US IN ADDITIONAL DEFENSE SPENDING IF IT SHOULD TURN OUT THAT THE CONTINUATION OF THE EMBARGO LED TO A SITUATION WHERE TURKEY ULTIMATELY DECIDED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE NATO ALLIANCE AND WE FELT THAT IN ORDER TO RE-ESTABLISH THE PRE-EXISTING EAST-WEST BALANCE IT WAS NECESSARY FOR US TO REPLACE THE MANPOWER AND MATERIEL WE WOULD HAVE LOST BY VIRTUE OF TURKEY'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ALLIANCE?

SECRETARY BROWN: IT IS VERY DIFFICULT, MR. SOLARZ, TO REPLACE GEOGRAPHY WITH FORCES. AND TURKISH GEOGRAPHY IS A VITAL PART OF OUR NATO AND EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN STRATEGY;

SPECIFICALLY THE CONTROL OF THE TURKISH STRAITS IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF IN A SITUATION OF CRISIS OR HOSTILITIES LIMITING THE ABILITY OF THE SOVIETS TO RE-ENFORCE THEIR MEDITERRANEAN FLEET FROM THE BLACK SEA.

I, THEREFORE, REALLY CANNOT QUANTIFY IT. I SUSPECT THAT IT WOULD RUN INTO MANY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, BUT I WOULD NOT TRY TO PUT A QUANTITY OF FORCES INTO THE BALANCE BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE VARIOUS WAYS YOU COULD TRY TO REDRESS SUCH A LOSS. IN THE END YOU WOULD NOT HAVE REDRESSED IT.

SOLARZ: I FULLY UNDERSTAND THE GEO-POLITICAL ASSETS WHICH TURKEY BRINGS TO THE ALLIANCE CANNOT BE REPLACED. BUT TO THE EXTENT THEIR WITHDRAWAL WOULD ALSO RESULT IN A DIMINISHED OFFICIAL USE

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MENT OF MANPOWER AND MATERIEL AVAILABLE TO THE ALLIANCE, I THINK IT WOULD BE HELPFUL, IF FOR THE RECORD, SOME OF YOUR ANALYSTS MIGHT WORK UP SOME FIGURES INDICATING THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM THAT WOULD CREATE FOR US TO THE EXTENT WE DECIDED IT WOULD THEN BE IN OUR INTEREST TO TRY TO REPLACE SOME OF THOSE ASSETS WHICH WOULD NO LONGER BE AVAILABLE.

SECRETARY BROWN: WE CAN TRY TO DO THAT. WE CAN TRY TO SAY THIS IS THE SIZE OF THE TURKISH FORCES AND TO REPLACE THEM IN NUMERICAL SENSE WOULD COST SO AND SO MUCH. AS I SAY, THAT DOES NOT TAKE CARE OF THE GEOGRAPHY.

SOLARZ: SECRETARY VANCE, JUST TWO FINAL QUESTIONS. IN YOUR COLLOQUY WITH MR. FOWLER WHEREIN HE EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN OVER WHAT LED TO THIS DECISION NOW ON THE PART OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO ASK FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO, IS IT FAIR TO SAY THAT BASICALLY WHAT IT REPRESENTED WAS A GROWING ACCUMULATION OF EVIDENCE THAT THE POLICY SIMPLY WAS NOT WORKING AND THAT UNLESS THE EMBARGO WERE LIFTED SOON, IT COULD, IN FACT, LEAD TO AN IRREVERSIBLE DECLINE? WHILE ORIGINALLY THERE WAS SOME REASON TO HOPE AND POSSIBLY BELIEVE THAT THE EMBARGO MIGHT FACILITATE A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT OVER CYPRUS, THEREBY ENABLING US TO REMOVE THE EMBARGO, OVER A PERIOD OF TIME IT BECAME INCREASINGLY CLEAR IT WAS NOT WORKING AND IT WAS HAVING THESE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES?

SECRETARY VANCE: YES, I WOULD AGREE WITH THE WAY YOU HAVE STATED IT.

SOLARZ: FINALLY, THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CYPRUS TODAY. THE CYPRUS SITUATION, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AS YOU KNOW, IS NA INCREDIBLY TANGLED ONE. BUT WOULDN'T IT BE FAIR TO NOTE, AT LEAST FOR THE RECORD, THAT PRIOR TO 1974, THE SITUATION AND STATUS OF THE TURKISH MINORITY ON CYPRUS WAS NOT A PARTICULARLY ENVIABLE ONE? THIS WAS AN EMBATTLED COMMUNITY WHICH OVER THE COURSE OF TIME WAS REPEATEDLY VICTIMIZED BY A MAJORITY, THAT PEOPLE WERE MURDERED, DISCRIMINATED AGAINST, VILLAGES DESTROYED, WHICH IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT THERE MAY NOT HAVE BEEN ATROCITIES ON THE OTHER SIDE AS WELL, BUT THAT THIS WAS A COMMUNITY FEARFUL FOR ITS EXISTENCE WHICH DID HAVE A NUMBER OF LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES AND THAT IT IS PRECISELY THE CONTINUING CONCERN OF TURKEY AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY THAT THE STATUS QUO ANTE NOT BE ESTABLISHED IN THE SENSE THAT THE TURKISH MINORITY NOT BE ONCE AGAIN EXPOSED TO WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM PRIOR TO 1974 WHICH HAS IN A SENSE CREATED A SITUATION WHERE NEGOTIATIONS ARE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO CREATE A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT WITH CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WITH PROTECTIONS THEY DID NOT HAVE BEFORE?

SECRETARY VANCE: THE ANSWER IS, YES, THAT YOU HAVE CORRECTLY STATED THE SITUATION WHICH OBTAINED PRIOR TO THE CONFLICT IN 1974. THIS WAS A MATTER OF CONTINUING DEEP CON-

CERN TO THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN CYPRUS AND WAS A SUBJECT THAT WAS CONSTANTLY RAISED BY THEM AND A SOURCE OF ANGUISH AND CONCERN.

SOLARZ: AND IN LIGHT OF THAT FACT, WOULD IT THEN BE UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO SIMPLY WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS WITHOUT AN AGREED-UPON ARRANGEMENT FOR THE FUTURE OF CYPRUS ITSELF?

SECRETARY VANCE: I THINK THAT RAISES A DIFFERENT QUESTION. I THINK ONCE THE UNITED NATIONS FORCES WERE PUT IN THERE THAT UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES THE FORCES SHOULD HAVE BEEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITHDRAWN. I BELIEVE THAT IN BOTH THAT CASE AND IN THE LEBANON CASE, BUT WE ARE FACED WITH A SITUATION NOW ON HOW TO MOVE FORWARD RATHER THAN LOOKING AT THE PAST.

ZABLOCKI: MR. SECRETARY, SECRETARY BROWN, GENERAL JONES, YOU HAVE GIVEN GENEROUSLY OF YOUR TIME. I JUST WANT TO ASK ONE FINAL QUESTION. IT WILL ONLY REQUIRE A YES OR NO

ANSWER. ONE OF THE BASIC REASONS FOR THE EMBARGO AND THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION AS TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY, DENYING MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY WAS THAT THE EMBARGO WOULD INDEED HELP IN SETTLING THE CYPRUS ISSUE. DID, IN-DEED, THE EMBARGO ASSIST? YES OR NO.

SECRETARY VANCE: IT HAS NOT. END TEXT. VANCE

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